

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-10 IO-12 ADP-00 CU-04 STR-08 EB-11 OIC-04

ACDA-19 OMB-01 SS-15 NSC-10 SCA-01 CIAE-00 PM-09

INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 GAC-01

USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 RSR-01 CIEP-02 COME-00

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R 061405 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4331

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY VIENNA

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

USMISSION BERLIN

USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USMISSION GENEVA

USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS

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DISTO; HELSINKI FOR MPT DEL; VIENNA FOR MBFR DEL;

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SHAPE FOR INTAF

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW

SUBJECT: CSCE KEY ISSUES FOR THE RECESS

REF: HELSINKI 885

SUMMARY: EMBOFF CALLED APRIL 5 ON FONOFF CSCE DEPT CHIEF VON GROLL, AT LATTER'S REQUEST, FOR INITIAL GERMAN REACTIONS TO LIST OF " KEY ISSUES" CIRCULATED BY VEST AT APRIL 3 LUNCHEON FOR SENIOR NATO ADVISERS IN HELSINKI. THIS CABLE, KEYED TO VEST'S " KEY ISSUES" PAPER ( REFTEL) PROVIDES GROLL'S COMMENTS. GROLL STRESSED THAT THE TWO ESSENTIAL FRG PRE- CONDITIONS FOR CONVENING CSCE WERE SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO PRINCIPLES AND FAMILY REUNIFICATION PROBLEMS; HE EXPRESSED WISH FOR US SUPPORT ON THESE TWO PROBLEMS AND IN THIRD BASKET IN GENERAL. FRG VIEWS ON CBM'S/ OTHER MILITARY ASPECTS OF SECURITY, AS WELL AS CONNECTION BETWEEN SOCIAL/ REGIONAL PROBLEMS, FOREIGN WORKERS AND FREER MOVEMENT BASKET, TREATED BY SEPTELS. ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE ON GROLL'S QUERIES IN PARAS 6 AND 7 BELOW. END SUMMARY.

1. BASKET- I: PRINCIPLES. GROLL SAID FRG COULD ACCEPT " PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE " UFN CHARTER" ALONE AS PREFERRED SOURCE FOR CSCE PRINCIPLES, AS LONG AS THERE WAS SATISFACTORY FORMULATION OF THE PRINCIPLES, OF THEIR ORDER AND OF THEIR UNIVERSAL APPLICATION AS IN SEPARATE LISTING OF PRINCIPLES A LA SUISSE. BUT GROLL EMPHASIZED THAT LIST OF PRINCIPLES MUST INCLUDE SELF- DETERMINATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS. HE SAID ORDER IN SWISS MANDATE WOULD RESULT IN LINKAGE ALBEIT NOT IN SUBORDINATION. FRG CABINET HAS INSISTED UPON SATISFACTORY SOLUTION OF THIS PROBLEM.

2. BASKET- II: PRINCIPLES OF TRADE. GROLL SAID FRG BELIEVES CSCE PRINCIPLES SHOULD BE LIMITED TO BASKET- I DECLARATION AND PERHAPS ALSO TO OVERALL " SUPER CHAPEAU". BONN BELIEVES SECOND AND THIRD BASKETS SHOULD DEAL STRICTLY WITH CONCRETE ISSUES AND NOT INTRODUCE FURTHER PRINCIPLES. FRG IS READY IN BASKET- II

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INTRODUCTION TO ADDRESS " BASIS" FOR TRADE, IN TERMS

OF MUTUAL ADVANTAGE AND RECIPROCITY, AND IS PREPARED TO SEEK OUT FORMULATION WHICH WOULD OMIT SPECIFIC REFERENCES IN THE MANDATE TO MFN AND NON- DISCRIMINATION WHILE LEAVING DOOR AJAR FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION OF THESE QUESTIONS IN SECOND ( COMMITTEE) PHASE. FRG PRESENTLY STUDYING GATT ARTICLE I WITH EYE TO SUCH A FORMULATION.

3. BASKET- II: ALL EUROPEAN PROBLEM. GROLL SAID FRG COULD NOT ACCEPT NOTION OF " ALL EUROPEAN PROGRAMS" IN MPT RECOMMENDATIONS TO CONFERENCE. THIS CONCEPT, AS EXPLAINED BY ZORIN, IMPLIED EUROPEAN WIDE CENTRAL PLANNING ARRANGEMENTS CONCERNING LONG TERM FOREIGN TRADE. FRG INCLINED TO PROBE SOVIET VIEWS FURTHER AND TO EMPHASIZE INSTEAD POSSIBILITY OF SPECIFIC " PROJECTS" IN CERTAIN FIELDS.

4. BASKET- III: INTRODUCTION. AS INDICATED IN PARA 2 ABOVE, GROLL SAID FRG OPPOSED TO INJECTION REFERENCE TO " SOVEREIGNTY", TO DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC SYSTEMS, OR TO OTHER " PRINCIPLES" IN INTRODUCTORY PARAGRAPH OF THIS MANDATE. BONN PREFERS THAT ANY SUCH PRINCIPLES BE TREATED EITHER IN BASKET- I DECLARATION OR IN " SUPER CHAPEAU" AND THAT

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USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 CIEP-02 COME-00 RSR-01

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R 061405 Z APR 73

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4332

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

AMEMBASSY ANKARA  
AMEMBASSY ATHENS  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS  
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN  
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AMEMBASSY ROME  
AMEMBASSY VIENNA  
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW  
USMISSION BERLIN  
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS  
USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
USMISSION GENEVA  
USNMR SHAPE BRUSSELS

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BASKET- III, LIKE BASKET- II, CONCENTRATE ON CONCRETE MATTERS.

5. BASKET- III: SPECIFIC MEASURES. GROLL INDICATED THERE WOULD BE LITTLE GERMAN GIVE ON REFERENCES TO " SOVEREIGNTY" ETC AS LONG AS SPECIFIC MEASURES CONTAINED IN BODY OF MANDATE NOT NAILED DOWN. AS AMB BRUNNER TOLD US RECENTLY ( BONN 4815), FRG BELIEVES WEST MUST TAKE REALLY FIRM POSITION ON BASKET- III DEMANDS IN ORDER TO WIN SOVIET CONCESSIONS IN THIS AREA. IN THIS CONNECTION, GROLL REFERRED DIRECTLY TO TOUGH APRIL 3-4 STATEMENTS IN HUMAN CONTACTS WORKING GROUP BY ZORIN ( HELSINKI 903 AND 896).

6. BASKET- III: SUBSTANTIVE ISSUES. GROLL SAID SOVIET REFERENCE TO NON- INTERFERENCE WITH RUSSIAN INTERNAL LEGISLATION WAS DIRECTED AGAINST WESTERN DEMANDS FOR FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND EXIT VISAS. ON THIS SCORE, GROLL SAID MENDELEVICH MADE THIS POINT EXPLICITLY TO BRUNNER, INDICATING THAT HE HAD VERY STRONG

INSTRUCTIONS FROM MOSCOW TO OPPOSE TREATMENT OF FAMILY REUNIFICATION ISSUE. ON THE OTHER HAND, GROLL SAID SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO FAMILY REUNIFICATION AND INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS PROBLEMS WAS ESSENTIAL CONDITION TO GERMAN AGREEMENT FOR CONVENING CONFERENCE. GIVEN LONG- STANDING US EMPHASIS ON FREER MOVEMENT ISSUES, GROLL SAID GERMANS WOULD STRONGLY WELCOME US SUPPORT. GROLL ADDED THAT FAILURE TO ACHIEVE PROGRESS ON FAMILY REUNIFICATION PROBABLY WOULD ALSO MEAN NEGATIVE RESULTS ON EXIT VISAS. GROLL WAS MORE OPTIMISTIC ON YOUTH EXCHANGES AND TOURISM. BUT HE ALSO EXPRESSED WISH FOR US SUPPORT IN EFFORT TO SEEK GAINS IN AREA OF WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS.

7. BASKET- III: ORDER OF ISSUES. GROLL RECALLED THAT PRESENT ORDER, LEADING OFF WITH HUMAN CONTACTS, WAS RESULT OF DIFFICULT EC-9 COMPROMISE IN WHICH DUTCH AND ITALIANS AGREED TO AGENDA HEADING WITHOUT REFERENCE TO FREER MOVEMENT. WHILE NOT ESSENTIAL MATTER FOR FRG, GERMANS INCLINED TO REMAIN LOYAL TO THIS COMPROMISE AS CONFIDENTIAL

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LONG AS DUTCH AND ITALIANS INSIST. BUT GROLL ADDED THAT DUTCH AND ITALIANS PROBABLY WOULD CONSTITUTE DISTINCT MINORITY IN EC-9 ON THIS ISSUE. GROLL QUERIED US ON US VIEW OF THIS QUESTION. FINALLY, GROLL INDICATED CONCESSIONS ON REORDERING SUBJECTS SHOULD IN ANY EVENT NOT COME UNTIL SUBSTANTIVE SATISFACTION ON PARTICULAR POINTS IN EACH ITEM IS ASSURED.

8. BASKET- III: EC-9 PAPER RE CSCE SECOND STAGE. WE REPORTED IN BONN 3160 CONCERNING AGREEMENT OF EC-9 CSCE EXPERTS, AT FEB 27 SUB- SUBGROUP MEETING, TO ELABORATE WORKING DOCUMENT ESTABLISHING ALLIED PRIORITIES AND CONTAINING OPERATIONAL POSITIONS IN HUMAN CONTACT FIELDS FOR USE PRIMARILY AT CSCE SECOND ( COMMITTEE) STAGE. THAT CABLE ( LIMDIS) PROVIDED DETAILED REVIEW OF FRG PAPER ON VARIOUS BASKET THREE ISSUES. GROLL TOLD EMBOFF THAT EC-9 SUB- SUBGROUP ON FREER MOVEMENT PROBLEMS WILL MEET AGAIN APRIL 16 IN BRUSSELS TO CONSIDER RE- DRAFT OF GERMAN PAPER WHICH RESULTED FROM DISCUSSIONS AMONG EXPERTS IN THE INTERIM.

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USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 CIEP-02 COME-00 RSR-01

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R 061405 Z APR 73  
FM AMEMBASSY BONN  
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USMISSION BERLIN  
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USMISSION EC BRUSSELS  
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9. BASKET- IV: SOVIET PROPOSALS. GROLL SAID FRG IS OPPOSED TO ESTABLISHMENT OF SEPARATE COMMITTEE ON BASKET- IV, PREFERING INSTEAD REFERENCE TO " FOLLOW- ON" IN THE MANDATE OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE; GROLL SAID GERMANS EXPECT SOVIETS LIKELY TO GO ALONG WITH THIS APPROACH. GERMANS OPPOSED TO SPECIFIC MENTION OF POST- CONFERENCE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE IN AGENDA TITLE BUT COULD CONSIDER MENTIONING CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE IN COORDINATING COMMITTEE MANDATE AS ONE OF SEVERAL POSSIBILITIES IN THE CASE OF A SUCCESSFUL CONFERENCE. BUT FORMULATION MUST NOT PREJUDICE WESTERN PSO POSITION.

10. MEDITERRANEAN. CONNECTION BETWEEN EUROPEAN AND MEDITERRANEAN SECURITY ORDER, IN FRG VIEW, BE TREATED EITHER IN BASKET- I DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES OR IN SUPER CHAPEAU. SOME REFERENCE TO MEDITERRANEAN ALSO POSSIBLE IN BASKET- II INTRODUCTION, PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF ISSUE OF MEDITERRANEAN POLLUTION. FRG OPPOSED TO OBSERVERS.

11. ARRANGEMENTS FOR FIRST STAGE MINISTERIAL MEETING. FRG ASSUMES MINISTERIAL WILL LAST ABOUT 7 TO 9 WORKING DAYS, TEND TO PREFER JUNE 26- JULY 6 AS TARGET DATES, BUT ALSO PREPARED TO CONVENE SOMEWHAT SOONER AFTER NATO MINISTERIAL. GIVEN JUNE 5 EC-9 MINISTERIAL, GERMANS HOPE MPT WILL CONCLUDE BEFORE THIS DATE, BUT STILL PREFER TO FOCUS ON SUBSTANCE RATHER THAN CALENDAR. SO WHILE SHARING US VIEW OF LATE JUNE AS TARGET DATE FOR MINISTERIAL, GERMANS THOUGHT US APRIL 3 MPT PLENARY STATEMENT STRONGLY FAVORING LATE JUNE DATE ( HELSINKI 825) WAS " PERHAPS NOT TOO HELPFUL" IN TERMS OF STIMULATING USSR TO SEEK FURTHER CONCESSIONS ON THE ASSUMPTION THE WEST IS UNDER TIME PRESSURE.

12. TECHNICAL/ FINANCIAL. SEE BONN 5067 NOTAL FOR GERMAN THINKING ON POSSIBLE COMPROMISES BETWEEN UN TYPE FORMULA AND EQUAL SHARING OF CSCE EXPENDITURES. HILLENBRAND

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\*\*\* Current Handling Restrictions \*\*\* n/a

\*\*\* Current Classification \*\*\* CONFIDENTIAL



## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
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COPENHAGEN  
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SECSTATE WASHDC

THE HAGUE

WASHDC

**Type:** TE

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